Surára
Pakidái

343 342 361 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two [824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters. [824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are [171] ● used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters [461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

Surára
Pakidái

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the
other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters.
In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife
always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife
and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at
most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50
centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or
was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the
past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
● [171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem,
similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on
the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward
the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is
9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the
same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand
four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four
smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

Surara
Pakidái

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces. [824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one [622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

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114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

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54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

Surara
Pakidai
Sanema

/17/

491 499 184 These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a footbridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). 491 184 ● 171 Such bridges are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62) and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

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60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
137 shiny appearance.

824 The bowstring -- penahitíbe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
● 191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semicircular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
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68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidai

/20 cont./

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184
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[283]
The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surâra, Pakidâi, Karimé, and Xamatâri, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surâra and Pakidâi, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waikâ by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surâra, Pakidâi, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

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How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

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79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

41 [171] Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

[283] [824] 2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

237 [283] [314] 3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

411 114 [171] According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

[184] used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 ● 171 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connection, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokórimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

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95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surara
Pakidai

/22 cont./

411 [482] In the forest the Surára and Pakidái as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

411 171 114 In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

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100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could
171 be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm
114

103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawõ, the Surára man Brakaiwõ, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwõ. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000
411 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would rep-
174 resent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waiká, Zerries re-
ports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked
173 even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged
411 only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them
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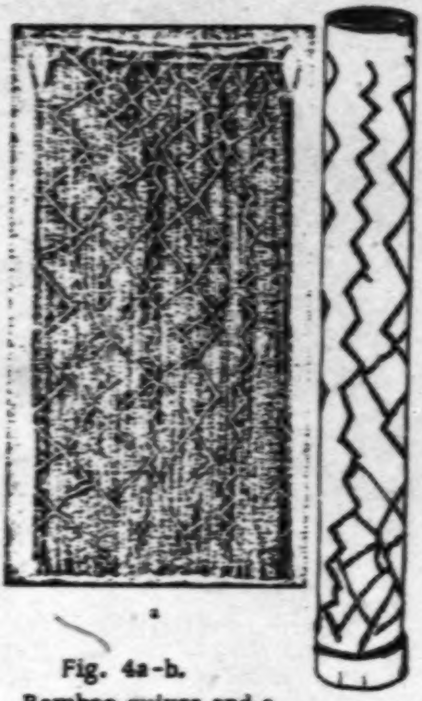

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a
rubbing of the incised
design.

173 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the
411 wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long
726

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411 109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

171
578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled,
which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

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110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.
111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriána, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 171

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

411 184 they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [531] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrowpoints wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surára
Pakidái

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas [171]

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171] 121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171] 122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283 [171] 122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

with which, however, a left twist is associated. [462] The treatment of cotton -- xinarí --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhũ -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobanã -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] [322] [462] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the center of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283 171 From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaírí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaírí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

/26 cont./

283 171 184 114 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 123 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

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124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

Surára
Pakidâi

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[171] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/ 160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidâi from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana [171] [114]

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 171 174 114 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 184 174 114 Within the Yanonámi group, cotton and spinning are known, in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the Pusehewetерí, Aramamesterí, and Karauaterí, members of whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salethé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Surara
Pakidai

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes. [824] [283] [292]

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Porẽhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls. [689]

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

[171]
[482]

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

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[171]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there
is the very likely danger that it might tear.

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[171]

I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894,
p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

Surára
Pakidai

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Kiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291
171
184 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Paño and
171 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
174 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150),

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaibén /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

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174 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81; II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 [192] On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157), which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

292 284 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

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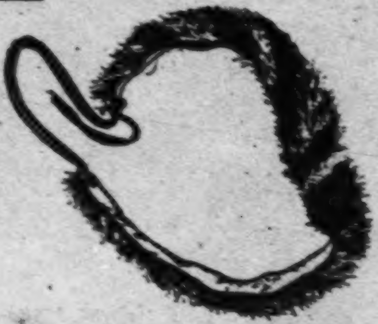

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Feliś pardalis Neuw.).

000 promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

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From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriána and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriána men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surara
Pakidai

/34 cont./

292
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mentioned by Martius (166), Richard Schomburgk (167), and Koch-

166. Martius, 1867, pp. 622/23.

167. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, p. 239.

Grünberg (168). Ule, shows in an illustration of two Arekuná men,

168. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 41.

shows how it is worn (169). It can be seen there that they use the

169. Ule, 1913, p. 283, Ill. 2.

belt for fastening their pubic apron, to which Appun likewise calls attention (170). Moreover, the cotton string-belt is documented

170. Appun, 1871, II, p. 307.

for the male Makuxí /Macusi/ (171) and for the Maionkong /Maioncon/,

171. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 77.

where it is worn by men (172) and women (173).

172. Rice, 1928, p. 220, illustration.

173. Stevens, 1926, p. 401, illustration.

The plaited, wide, flat women's belt of the Surára and Pakidái, however, also has its prototype among the Makuxí, where, to be sure, men wear it. Roth describes how it is made as follows: "The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt" /cited in English/ (174).

174. Roth, 1924, p. 440.

Surára
Pakidái

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

648 177 Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

177 292 174 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). 292 171 According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

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175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

2: Becher--76 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suráɾa
Pakidái

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára 291 123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterí women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions. 292 184

291 171 ● The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

Surára
Pakidái

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinaríke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)
represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá
[824] fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is
1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects
in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully
shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string
292 bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion
of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and
insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and
Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains
why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
● 171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for
women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of
white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in
many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from
the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ
from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they
are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is
a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed
after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been
borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[171] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former
is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the
enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be
deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even
men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

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196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

Surára
Pakidái

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192] 198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

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171 ● As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the simple cord, bands of string -- nyöθmutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192] 199. In the word -- nyöθmutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyö, to which is appended the diminutive form θmutimá.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

Shiriana

/38 cont./

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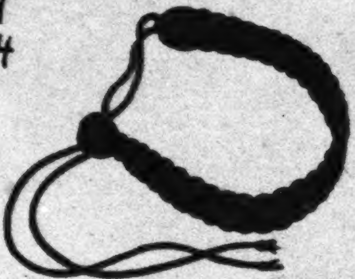

Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

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According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells...The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

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● 171

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

Surara,
Pakidai

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

[824] Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hiĩ -- (see p. 243).

302 e) Hair style

[462] Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemôno. Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p. 119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise
choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People
with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape
head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a
long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
171 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco,
for the members of both sexes of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí,
Aramamesterí, and Karauaterí whom I met also wore it (206).

302
171
114 206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Borôro, receberam do povo o nome de Cor[illegible]dos, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waiká (207) (208), Karime (209), and the Xiriána men on the Motomotó (210). With regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

302 •171

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

304 301 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

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207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 301 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament. [314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters [184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe. [184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 422 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 301 184 ● [171] [127] Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes, abundant comparative and supplementary material is available to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

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213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

/41 cont./

304 301 184 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriána. For the male and female Waiká, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonámi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 301 ●171 With reference to the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are entirely absent. 301 171 In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surára and Pakidái (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270 /. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriána were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 ●171 did not make them themselves either, for they were made, by pounding and grinding, out of Brazilian silver coins which are no longer in circulation today. Moreover, for centuries the technical skill of the Karaiben with regard to gold, silver, and copper ornaments has been acclaimed. For example, Gumilla already mentions Karaiben tribes in the vicinity of the Orinoco who wore homemade plates of gold (217), and, according to de Rochefort, the Island Karaiben used ear pendants of gleaming copper (218). Crescent-shaped silver leaf is used by the Makuxí men, but they wear it on a nose rod (219).

Further comparative material is to be found in the valuable work by Brigitte Menzel, "Deformierender Gesichtschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Deforming Facial Ornaments of South American Primitive Peoples/." Here it was shown that ear ornaments of metal occur especially frequently in northwest Amazonas as well as Guiana (220), and also ear ornaments of teeth are confirmed in considerable quantity for the highlands of Guiana (221).

With reference to the ornamentation of the corners of the mouth, the authoress writes: "From an accumulation in the source region of the Ucayali, the evidence extends over northwest Amazonas

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217. Gumilla, 1745, I, p. 139.

218. de Rochefort, 1658, p. 289.

219. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 198, Figs. 2 and 4.

220. Menzel, 1957, p. 38 and Map 14.

221. Menzel, 1957, p. 34.

Surára
Pakidái

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
● 171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

304 g) Tattooing

All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper
[881] lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

[184] 223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

/42 cont./

304 171 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

304 171 881 [184] There are also slight differences with regard to the time of tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

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The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

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A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however, for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

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The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

304 232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

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114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A comprehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

[531] The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824]
[386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- *narí* --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of *Bixa orellana*. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (*Genipa brasiliensis*) -- *uarabá* --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 825 237 [554] Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekéa --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. 301 825 75 The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

Surara
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 171 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 184 114 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Pusheweterí, and Aramamesterí men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 237 171 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 436 822 j) Bead ornaments

European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 436 822 only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

● [171]

> 244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 462 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 822 I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352 Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the 171 Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound [114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus,, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Võlkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

/48 cont./

352 According to the classification by Max Schmidt,
286 who differentiates three groups for the plaiting tech-
174 nique in South America, the cotton hammocks made
● 171 by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

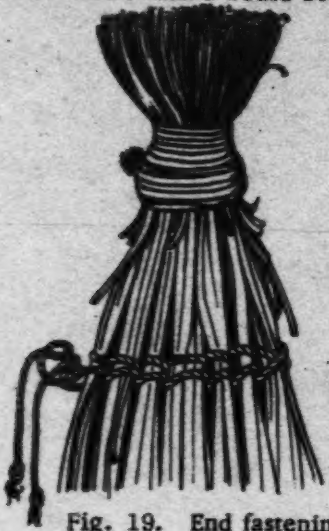

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

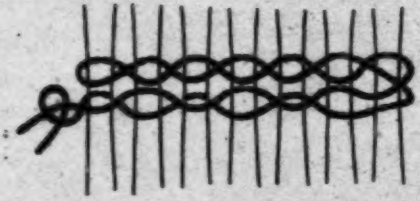

Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 286 174 ● 171 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

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259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 (824) Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of *curauá*, the making of which falls to the men.

(824) If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the *patauá*, *açaí*, and *ubim* palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called *pakokóhe*, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the *maloka*. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 171 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens, however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

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269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 174 [171] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275). [177] [184]

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

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272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/51 cont./

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281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weĕ. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285 •171 184 The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waiká, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

Surára
Pakidái

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

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287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái

/52 cont./

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9. Band for Carrying Children

[824] The band for carrying children -- *okomakuá* -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (*Daphnopsis brasiliensis* Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the [413] women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- *xamotimá* -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- *uarimaxíke* -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- *pekehík* -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced before-[412] hand with the little *cutia*-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

854 The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America ● [171] and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-[184] band (292). Among the Xiriána Koch-Grünberg does not seem to [114] have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

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824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (*Crescentia cujete* Lin.) and *Cucurbitaceae* (*Cucurbita lagenaria* Lin. and *Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda* = *jamaru*), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192] These vessels in general are called -- *horotoká* --, except for those of the *jamaru* fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- *nhapotoíma*.

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292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the too[illegible] is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the *jaca[illegible]im* (*Psophia crepitans* L.) -- *nyapín* -- which at the
[237] same tim[illegible]ves as the handle and is called -- *nyapínmatáz* --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of
cotton or *curauá* (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears
here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

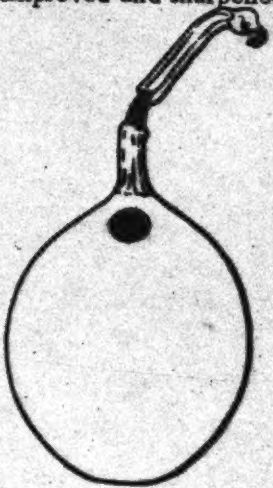

Fig. 24. *Jamaru* fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore
holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the
fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the
bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the
women have large and small scars from this; they always showed
them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign
that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

Surara, Shiriana
Pakidái
Waica

/54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Gründberg likewise
412 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an
● 171 Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micí -- represents a
184 work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema
[237] (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waiká and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaná and rahaká -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

/55 cont./

412 184 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriána, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 462 302 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side (*taquara* -- *Guadua* sp.) is used.

412 ● 171 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 237 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw of the wild pig -- *manacoauá* --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waiká (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 [192] [824] For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long -- *namunamutehí* --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waiká (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 462 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- *xamotimá* (see also pp. 112/114).

412 177 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as *terçados* (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

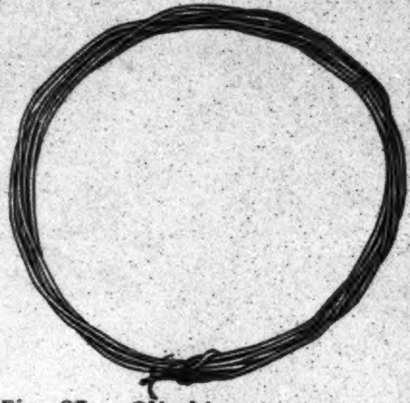

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

● [191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

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[137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits [184] in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaáke -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

Surára
Pakidai

/63 cont./

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593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes
[858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

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304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth
304 frequently.

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833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

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304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

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[114]
● [171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

Surára
Pakidái

114 /63 cont./
● 171 Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations
854 probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation
833 for the later sexual functions" (320).
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320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be
304 mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the
854 midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a
woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

Surára
Pakidái

171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 304 [833] On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

171 304 854 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itālmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 839 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 [595] [593] If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest daughter are also loving helpers. 854 515 Infant care, of course, does not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more 000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

854 /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not
514 clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women
[123] found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

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593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, *nápe*=mother and *hápe*=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child,
[851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

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> 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a
553 name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The
776 name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder
[782] intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

Surára,
Pakidai

/64 cont./

553 high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermedi-
776 aries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these
[782] Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose
name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris"
[777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the
child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to
say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and
plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic
114 ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph
191 /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are
also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái.
The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec
word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the
technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = some-
one's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

553 On the day of the name-giving the children are given a
302 tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved
[412] off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara --
[824] Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in
553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove
291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep.
The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is
done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by
little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under
[834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must
no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good
[292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around
children (see pp. 64ff.).

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326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

Surára,
Pakidái

/68 cont./

756 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention
884 to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and
86 their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar
● 171 form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be
884 sure, but mandatory.

834 j) Sex life

833 The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband.
[595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together
837 frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy,
[593] however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

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Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. [593] The wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 •171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

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Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common property. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar purposes. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

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332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

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k) Death and burial customs

As the previous comments have shown, there are neither birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

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Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [775] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 888 266 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

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● [171] 333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

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Pakidái

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333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead. 888 766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766 [684] [784] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766 858 774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

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Pakidái

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764 ● 171 For the types of burial of the Surâra and Pakidâi, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

[184] 334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

765 171 175 The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764 765 171 175 Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

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Pakidái

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and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

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5. War -- *níanyu* --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- *noyú* -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára, Pakidai

619 /74 cont./

648 721 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the 726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by informants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which [619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed [624] by the Xiriána. They are always led by the war chief (the chief, [622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the [302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

[835] 340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

● [171] 341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

[171] 342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

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Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all [727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days 727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men [276] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá [782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

● [771] [302] 343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

344. The Hőrio and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./ The
224 meat of all the animals mentioned is greatly prized. Smaller
[262] rodents, however, are regarded as decided delicacies: paca
(Cuniculus paca L.) -- amutá -- and cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) --
tomã --, which usually are killed with dogs or driven into a
hole in the ground, as well as the armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.) --
obó. The latter is killed in the following way: When the Indian
has discovered an inhabitated armadillo burrow, he examines it
to see whether the animal is occupying it. If this is the case, he
quickly fetches dry leaves and blocks the entrance. Then he
kindles a fire with his fire apparatus, which he always carries on
the quiver (see p. 53), sets fire to the leaves, and, with a palm
leaf, fans the smoke into the burrow. This forces the animal to come
out after a few minutes, whereupon the hunter is able to kill it
[262] with an arrow or beat it to death with a stick (351). With somewhat less relish these Indians eat the meat of the capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) and the various monkey species, such as, for example, the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.) -- íhró --, cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.) -- uixá --, cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.) -- paxó --, and macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus) -- makurutamão. A great deal of skill, however, is required for monkey hunting in particular, because these animals leap from limb to limb in the crowns of tall trees and swing from one treetop to another by means of lianas. -- Feline species (352) are shot

● [171] 351. Caspar describes the same method for the Tuparí Indians (Caspar, 1953, p. 96 and Pl. 3).

352. Spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.) -- íhrá --, black jaguar (Panthera onca L.) -- hukumarí --, puma (Felis concolor) -- uaquearimã --, maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó.

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Pakidái

/82/

249 Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) -- *peenáke* -- (387) and a pepper plant (*Piperacea* sp.) -- *maxarahá* -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- *perakí* -- (389) (*Piper caudatum* Vahl.), Portuguese *pimenta-dos-índios*, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (*Sagittaria montevidensis* Cham. et Schl.) -- *xerekaíbe* --, the *urucuzeiro* (*Bixa orellana* L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- *nará* -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (*Crescentia cujete* Lin.) and *Cucurbitaceae* (*Cucurbita lagenaria* L. and *Cucurbita idolatrica* Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (*Gossypium barbadense* or *hirsutum*) -- *xinarí* -- is of comparatively recent date.

252
8. Preparation of Food

[462] The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

387. The Waiká word for this is "*be*" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "*masho hara*" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "*blaki*" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

• [171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Surára
Pakidái

/82 cont./

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462
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390. (cont.)
of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese moquém) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

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Pakidái

/83 cont./

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394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

● [171]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
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395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 439 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell ([illegible]e p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 [123] All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

● 171 175 263 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes, and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

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Pakidái

/84 cont./

263 ● 171 [175] almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

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401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

Surára
Pakidái

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the baçu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

[114] [184] [171] One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

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410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

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As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surâra and Pakidâi only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. [437] Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

● [171] 413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[773] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
231 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
231 good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
[114] perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference, how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

● [171] 416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

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[439]
[177] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
● [171] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 [552] also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also mention [825] that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters [262] and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

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424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

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The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and [171] parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

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Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly [249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant *rocas* or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, however, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is 276 also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the ● 171 /114 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432) agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthuiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

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430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

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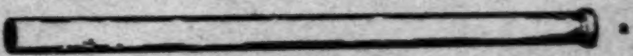
Pakidái

296 171 [184] /89 cont./

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the composition of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, [114] seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

[415]



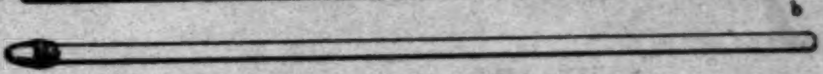


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

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438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára
Pakidai

821 /92 cont./

776 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to
774 their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

774 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
774 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

● [171] 447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

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Pakidái
Waica

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821 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450),

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450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Porê shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

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773 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

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Pakidái
Waica

821
184 /93 cont./
773 (see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

773 As a further Parallel, the leg-birth
184 should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

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453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

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● 171 455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

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Pakidái
Waica

/93 cont./

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171 455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

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184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

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184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions
[782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, pre-
776 sumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,
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459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/94 cont./

776 174 [171] area and cites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the [171] souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kachuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

Surara
Pakidai
Waica

/94 cont./

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[171]

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

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171 "The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

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Pakidái

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moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however, Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sâliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonâmi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a name which sounds very similar to Porê and "Purâ." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sâliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sâliva (479).

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But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonâmi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purâ (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aborê" and "Wowtâh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480),

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475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

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Waica

/95 cont./

776 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

774 171 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

774 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

773 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

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Pakidai
Waica

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Surára and Pakidâi, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Porẽ transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidâi, in the same version (see p.250).

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Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidâi), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

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Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidâi) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidâi), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidâi, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

● [171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

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Pakidái

/*96 cont.*/

2. Curing the Sick

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a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waiká (493). As carriers they use the *gavião-real* (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- *nonexí* --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted, it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the *gavião-real* are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95). [239]

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

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● [171] 493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

494. *Nonexí*, however, is also the specific name of the *gavião-real*.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "*noneshi*" or "*nonish*," for the Waiká. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

Surára
Pakidái

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[774]
[776] 496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[171] 497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

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757 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy, supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[171] 498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

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498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164 During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none
000 was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

(165)
(752)

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotõmarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had Pneumonia,
755 first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the
757 younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá,
177 the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

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Pakidái
Waica

/108 cont./

769 184 266 114 and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769 266 171 Moreover, /109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

Surara, Pakidái

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769 266 • 171 Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

114 769 266 171 According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

Surára
Pakidai

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/The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

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Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the *maloka*, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When [982] he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the *hekurá* to *Poré* and *Perimbó*, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the *hekurá* will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 171 114 Among many other tribes of South America there are the same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocóvi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

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537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

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Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832 c) Love magic:

[824] For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauá-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hamrẽ -- (see p. 83). If the

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Pakidái

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 821 d) Rain magic:

Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

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● [171] 548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

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Pakidái

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7. Types of Sports

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[598] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

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This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word.
[576] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be
578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

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● [171] 559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderiamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

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●[171]

559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

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[157]
The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

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560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 When I Told Them about Cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

[149 561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 Their imitative

153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

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•171 562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

Surára
Pakidái

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562. (cont.)
'to see with our eyes,' they do not lag behind us in penmanship and copying" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

563. The experiences of two more investigators should also be cited. First Crevaux, whose following description concerns the Oyampí: "I enjoy reproducing the figures and arabesques with which the people of the village are covered. They are very similar to the carvings in the rock Timéri of the Maroni. It then gives me the idea of cutting a piece of charcoal and giving it to the captain Jean-Louis and asking him to draw in my notebook, which he calls *caréta*, whereas he calls the drawings that he makes *coussiouar*. Jean-Louis does not know how to draw very well. On the other hand, young Yami soon makes for me, no longer with charcoal, but with a pencil, drawings of a man, a dog, a tiger, finally all the animals and devils of the country.

"Another Indian reproduces all sorts of arabesques which he is in the habit of painting with genipap.

"Having given some needles to my draftsmen, the question is who will ask me for a pencil in order to blacken the paper. I see that these savages who are accused of being absolutely ignorant of the fine arts draw everything with extraordinary facility;..." /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, pp. 76/77). -- No less interesting is the statement by Karl von den

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153 563. (cont.)
●171 Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú,
in which he declares that these Indians
knew how to use the pencil very well
and drew beautiful motifs in his note-
book, although he was the first white man
they had seen (Karl von den Steinen,
1886, p. 212).

153 Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid com-
[171] prehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these
Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most
[191] cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather
large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Júbeauwõ, also called Mandú,
159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly
perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed
unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I
was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the
Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

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752 564. Three years ago the little boy
suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen
by an upset vessel containing boiling tree
resin. Since the chief had given up hope
that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of
this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái,
decrees that all old and seriously ill
persons who are no longer able to take
part in the general migrations must be
killed (see pp. 153/154). The grand-
mother of the little boy, who is an
orphan took him secretly one night to
the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

159 564. (cont.)
734 Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded
752 in saving his life. The chief was said to
have been very angry at first over the
arbitrary action of the grandmother, but
then, when he saw that the little one had
recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great
interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114] 565. This conclusion agrees with an observa-
● [171] tion by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the
scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the *man's way of acquiring food has* probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

/202 cont./
412 (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl.
[184] 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará
and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife,
[171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of
bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897,
Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p.
14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a
[179] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes,
which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and
411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of
[324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters
in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

756 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
●171 who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
171 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to
formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very
probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of
all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
174 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the
cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe,"
indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak
of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme
Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar,
into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
● 171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but,
as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have
found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the
Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although
it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ,
the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is
like a globe which the hɛwĩawãn keeps in his chest. We shall
also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the
priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a
time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to
have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./
793 other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them
778 lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do
628 not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the
[776] hɛwĩawãn gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria,
793 in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the
778 house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial
775 community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations† one can see the
532 hikuladɛ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees
793 there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which
778 the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the
775 center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One
126 of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen
on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is
seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted
emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish
for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took
him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him
532 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is
793 based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect
778 of the house of the hikuladɛ. As a matter of fact our informant
775 never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab
126 on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it
825 was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other
coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American
ethnology.

● 171 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who
773 affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it
825 with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak,
778 a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to
the hĩkuladɛ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of
attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with
sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The
similarity between the hikuladɛ of the Sanemá and the "sacred
maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

† [see p. 70 --Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛwĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hɨkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order
to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest
of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hɨkula-dɨb come out
of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached
the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the inter-
● [171] vention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house
of Omao as hɨkula-dɨb, we noted down the name of hɛnpɨrtɨb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛwĩawán may send a hɨkula-dɨb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of
his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladɨ of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific híkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific híkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the híkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the híkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have híkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the híkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.

● [171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
[755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The kåilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
● [171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 [771] own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
W whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
793 priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
755 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
776 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
753 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
778 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

/233 cont. /

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his ir-
539 reconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it
821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign.
[532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to
[751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĨB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who
[772] are called Oineitĩb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

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• [171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most
[551] important and the most difficult task of my field work. The
[191] widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living
[769] and the dead found in South America, particularly in the
124 Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Con-
128 sequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

756 784 which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

*621 622 613 [964] Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead.

622 156 *628 584 The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

622 [802] Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons li[illegible] with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

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[171] [1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

*621

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

628 When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved
837 peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's
578 lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the
721 [241] establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village
726 722 warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an
241 extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare
361 necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[241] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as
certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-
[361] burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory.
• [171] In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also
[128] Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

*628 inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually
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527 the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain
574 much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their
Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to
accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by
the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have
these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When
the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-
tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready.
A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the
Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari
then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle
continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding
goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss
[433] (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is
that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring
shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages
are created and these promote visiting between allies. In
Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the
causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages.
[609] And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the
trading is the brother-in-law.

000 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

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* [171] [192] [431] [437] [1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

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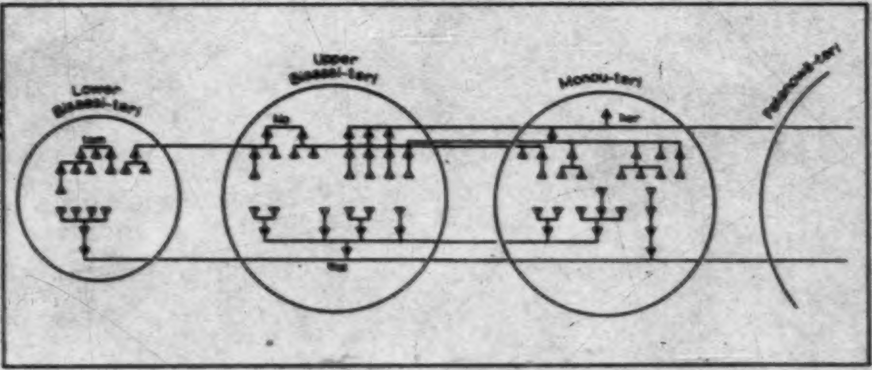

Fig. 3–5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tom* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2–4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3–5 constituted a single village with Patanowä-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3–4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

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I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3–2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

• [171]

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[12] In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

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*628 which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the
438 relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this
*628 regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignor-
574 ance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the
182 Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different
[438] groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to
[171] be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the
Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others
[635] admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues
from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that com-
[555] mands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

*628

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

574 One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics.
[128] Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-6), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends,
[726] the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

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[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.